782, 231

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

/For description of the sacrifice of buffaloes at death and other feasts, see also category 764./

241 /45 cont./ When all the sawahs have been completely harvested, the day for the ritual is set. This is the job of the [793] pinati (1) of Bontoramba, who is also the person who carries

1. Pinati is the title of the functionary who is usually charged with the execution of the ritual. Compare B. F. Matthes, Wb., p. 111.

out the actual ritual on that day. Around ten o'clock in the morning, those who wanted to take part in this harvest ritual [821] had already begun to gather at "the Lord of the Land." The ritual must take place before the sun begins to descend again, because, so it is believed, the rising of the sun benefits the growth of the rice. The women brought bowls of offerings 241 with them. Every house is expected to bring an offering, it is ●782 said, and one proceeds from the assumption that everyone is interested in the harvest. When the ritual began, I counted only 45 offering bowls from 42 different houses. Thirty-four of these 42 /46/ houses belonged to the Kapala group, 1 was occupied by members of the Mangenre group, and 5 belonged to the Rest group. Two bowls were from people outside Bontoramba who owned land in this region.

The second offering bowl from one and the same house, in two out of three cases, was designated for the second family living in that house.

In the three out of five cases in which the Rest group brought 471 an offering bowl, it appeared that no one from the house con- 241 cerned had been recorded in the land-tax register. One of these 782 concerned a follower who brought the offering for the sawahs of his master, who lived elsewhere; the second concerned one who worked sawahs belonging to a kinsman residing in Buttadidi; the third case is that of one of the kampong functionaries who

471 /46 cont./ had just come to live in Bontoramba but who, as
241 yet, possessed no land there. This man nonethless believed
782 that his office compelled him to give tangible proof of his participation in the life of the kampong at this communal festival.

The total number of 45 bowls was regarded as small; the fact that many people were sick was given as an excuse for this.

The conclusion to be drawn from these figures may be, therefore, that at this harvest festival only those people bring an offering who own or work sawahs in Bontoramba and who at the same time believe that they have a certain interest inthis harvest festival.

241 Compared with the other groups, the tendency to participate
612 in this communal festival is more apparent among the members of the Kapala group.

The nonparticipation of 17 of the 18 houses of the Mangenre group may be laid not only to the fact that only a few of them own sawahs in Bontoramba, but also to the fact that in Buginese country saukang festivals occur much less frequently than in Goa. Traditionally, this kind of festival is more
[626] unfamiliar to them. The participation of one of them may be regarded as a sign of submission to the local holders of power and their customs. For if nobody among them had participated, this would not have been appreciated by the Kapala and his relatives. In this case one of them stands for all. It was one of the most prominent members of the Mangenre group who sent a bowl.

539 In answer to the question how this place obtained its name,
7773 "Lord of the Land," the following story was told. /47/

1. Pau-pauanna "Patanna Pa'rasanganga," niarenga Besenga.	The story of "the Lord of the Land," called Besenga.
2. Riolo nia' sitau rewa ammantang ri Bontoramba.	Once upon a time there was a courageous man who lived in Bontoramba.

346 778 /75 cont./ In 1939, when I came to Borongloë for the first time, a dilapidated little hut had been built over this rock. Around the same time attention seems to have been drawn to this "rock worship" by the Muhammadijah Association. Shortly after this, people of Borongloë, under the leadership of the head of the adat community and the old Imam, constructed a new cottage.

The rock is flat on top. Viewed from above, the greatest length amounts to about 60 centimeters and the greatest width to about 40 centimeters. Everywhere it is from 2 to 3 centimeters above the ground. At the time of the reconstruction, a pointed rock was placed at opposite sides of the flat rock along the extension of the longitudinal axis, at a distance from each other of approximately 80 centimeters. Each of these two rocks jutted about 15 centimeters out of the ground. In combination with the rock, they make an impression of eroded mesas on the visitor. Questioned about this, the head stated that a grave existed here although he was unable to state with certainty whose grave it was.

[769 178] The purpose of placing the two rocks seems clear. Externally, the rock worship gave way to grave worship. The demands of modern times had therefore been met by doing as they did.

634 778 At the climax of their inauguration festival, the two last adat community heads of Borongloë stood on this rock. There they took the oaths of loyalty (aru) of a number of their kapala and followers.

346 778 Right by the rock a little house (saukang) has been built. It stands on posts. The floor forms a rectangle of 1.0 by 1.5 meters; the walls consist of transparent braided bamboo. A fifth post is stuck in the middle of the floor, going right through it and rising about 30 centimeters above the floor. This is called the lopped-off house post (benteng polong). Rock and saukang belong together. Whenever offerings are made there, a parappo is placed /76/ both by the lopped-off house post as well as by the flat rock (1).

• [782]

782 /76 cont./ 1. If the ritual is initiated by the related group belonging to the head of the adat community, the basic number of the parappo in the saukang is seven, and that of the other is nine.

634 778 At this spot the ornament of Borongloë, the flag, was unfurled and displayed to the people upon the occasion of the inauguration festival of the new adat community head. The [241 746] annual great harvest festival of Borongloë also takes place here.

241 634 778 Borongloë has its own ornament sawah, which is probably of less importance for the ritual than is the case elsewhere. In other adat communities or in kingdoms, the ornament sawah is the first one in the community to be plowed, with extra ritual each year. Only after this has taken place is it permitted to work the other sawahs located in this community. Up to this date, it is said elsewhere, redeeming of a mortgaged sawah is also permitted. Whoever comes after that must wait till after the following harvest.

794 602 182 A summary of the above yields the following result: By worship community we understand a group of people who take part in the same ancestral ritual.

Each individual has his own ancestors. Relatives have common ancestors. Relatives therefore may participate in each other's ritual.

Where no ornament is present, several worship communities are always to be found within a group of relatives. Their boundaries are vague. An individual may participate in the ritual in several communities. A worship community groups itself around an individual who occupies a prominent position in the group of relatives by virtue of his personal

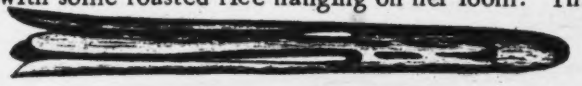
Batak OD5
Borneo OC1
Makassar OG6
Sumbawa OF38
JAVA OE1

[506 cont.]

I 286 and folktales are associated with it in all kinds of ways, which clearly indicates how highly this art is regarded by the people. The art of weaving is one of the most ancient possessions of the Malayan-Polynesian race.

In his De weefkunst in Nederlandsch Indië [The Art of Weaving in the Netherlands East Indies], Jasper gives some examples of popular belief and practices that are connected with this branch of industry.

J 286 [777] [507] Ikat work, according to the Javanese, is a secret art that can be practiced only by someone possessing the true èlmoe (magic wisdom). The weaver in Padang-Pandjang has a little bag with some roasted rice hanging on her loom. This



A Shuttle Cylinder
Photo. Jasper and Mas Pirngadie

I [782] keeps her from making mistakes. In Kota-Gedang a chicken is killed when a piece of weaving is finished. The person who ordered it and the weaver each get half. In the Toba lands Bt 283 when the thread is dyed, the spirit of the deceased grandfather 769 or father of the weaver is called upon so that the work will not 777 be a failure. In some of the coastal areas of Borneo's southern and eastern divisions, sarongs that are woven with a special Br 755 checked pattern are supposed to possess the power of healing the 777 sickness of whoever wears them. In southern Celebes some weavers M 782 know a little prayer, whose translation is: "May I work You (the loom) so swiftly that my seat does not have time to get warm or the rice pot to boil over. Such is the blessing of Allah."

I 777 When a piece of fabric is finished and has to be cut, if it is for personal use, it is put near a pot of water so that it remains cool and brings luck to the wearer, male or female. S 789 On Sumbawa a plate with water, rice, and banana is placed on the

[635 cont.]

776 A consequence of the latter is that the belief in good and evil spirits is also found among the Buginese and Makassarese. They are referred to by a few general designations that were adopted in former times from the Hindu-Javanese. Generally speaking, the tutelary spirits are called rewata in Makassarese, dewata in Buginese, the Hindu-Javanese dewata, the Sanskrit devâta. Another category is called sangiyang, the well-known Hindu-Javanese sanghjang. Among them Sangiyang Sarri, the same as Dewi Sri, deserves special mention. She is the spirit of the rice and is identified with it.

At the head of the spirits stands Batara Goeroe = Siva, often simply called Batara, who, as the name indicates, is likewise of Hindu-Javanese origin.

754 Among the evil spirits--popokang among the Makassarese, pappo among the Buginese--a primary role is played by those whose heads wander around at night while the trunk remains in bed. Here they are always women. If there is a woman at court who is thought to be a popokang, she is immediately made a slave and sentenced to pound kemiri continuously as a means of preventing her from going out at night and doing harm. Besides these, there are the pontijana, the spirit of women who died
766 in childbirth. If a woman dies in childbirth, an egg is put un-
775 der each of her armpits, her hands are pressed tightly against
754 the body, and some needles are stuck inside her clothing.
845

We shall not discuss the other spirits, because they were already mentioned in the general sketch.

769 [636] The worship of the souls of the deceased deserves
775 special consideration since the sanctity of the crocodiles, which
825 is found in many places on southern Celebes, is connected with
● 782 it. It is believed that the souls reside in these animals after
824 death. In the eastern districts, in Boeloekoempa, eels are regarded in the same way. Like the crocodiles, at the sound of metal cymbals, they come on land and feast on the chicken-
782 drumsticks that are given to them, especially by women who
776 yearn for the joys of motherhood. The most peculiar worship on

[636 cont.]

782 776 southern Celebes, derived from the pre-Islamic period, is that of Karaëng Lowe = Great Lord, which occurs primarily in the southern districts. Karaëng Lowe is usually worshiped there under the symbol of two stones that have the shape of male and female 778 genitals. In some localities, these symbols are stored in small 782 houses especially built for them, where the sacrificial rites are conducted by a priestess, pinate. Elsewhere they are found in caves or even in the open, so that everyone has free access to them. Besides those symbols, trees and huge stones are also regarded as residences of Karaëng Lowe. Also, in every house, generally in the loft, there is a small niche for offerings dedicated to Karaëng Lowe, in which, however, the symbols are lacking; at all the places dedicated to him vows and offerings consisting of young coconuts, betel, burning native candles, chickens, buffalo, gold, etc. are made to him, and in some areas a great annual three-day festival is celebrated in his honor. The greatest of these 796 celebrations takes place in Gantanrang Keke, a place located three hours away from Bantaeng. People stream there from all regions of southern Celebes and amuse themselves with cockfights, dice games, etc.

776 The worship of Karaëng Lowe is probably a survival from 778 the Hindu period; he is viewed as identical with Siva, who, as we have said, was worshiped as the god of fertility and procreative power under the symbols of the linga or of the linga and yoni, the male and female genitals in conjunction. The stones with which [637] Karaëng Lowe was worshiped have the same form and thus point to the Siva cult; in this case it was brought to southern Celebes by Hindu-Javanese. Now a few words about the other principal characteristics of the worship in connection with the general sketch.

791 1. Shamanism. We have already discussed the occurrence 756 of this on southern Celebes in detail. It is to be recalled that the shamans here are called bissu = the Sanskrit bhikshû = mendicant monk, but we want to add a few remarks.

The bissu actually belong to the Buginese regions. They

M 791 756 [637 cont.]
are said to have originated from the Buginese state Loewoe.

The spirits under whose influence they are supposed to stand are more specifically Batara Goeroe and his spouse Wi Njilo Timo, the daughter of the god of the underworld, who rose from the sea, and their descendants. They are possessed by these spirits, and when they are possessed they often act as doctresses, sanro. Otherwise they perform their services especially during the festivities on such occasions as births, circumcisions, deaths, filing of teeth, marriages, etc. They then perform all kinds of religious ceremonies which consist of dances, singing, scattering toasted rice, etc. On such occasions, they drive off evil spirits by making noise and smoke with certain instruments. We should note, too, that the bissu, like the shamans in other parts of the archipelago, use a sacred language at their conjurations, one which greatly resembles Old Buginese.

M [776] M [798]

M [782] 2. Offerings. The making of offerings, both small and large, and holding sacrificial festivities is done often.

3. Magic. Sorcery manifests itself here in the wearing of amulets and preventives, as well as in the use of magical formulas and the belief in dreams and other omens. The way in which ominous time periods are determined by means of kotika has already been mentioned.

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M 784 4. Pemali. Among the Makassarese it is called kassipalli, among the Buginese pomali.

I 121 With this we close the discussion of the religions [638] as far as the original Polynesian and Hinduism are concerned. Islam remains to be mentioned, but we shall limit ourselves exclusively to an enumeration of the peoples who profess this religion.

h. Islam

I 774 771 We shall not discuss the history of the introduction of Islam in the archipelago, because this would take us too far afield (1). Similarly we shall not deal with the value of Islam

563 can they buy it. I took a photograph of the market
427 site.

764 Then we went to pekoeboeran, the cemetery, or at least
565 to one of them. There we noted one large cement Chinese grave, and numerous native graves. I again took a photograph. Saleh said that both men and women have two grave stones or wooden posts. Most of those I saw were low and small. Names and dates are carved on them, but are almost not readable. It is almost pathetic, as was the site of a bier with painting and the undertaker's name (I suppose) on the cloths around it. It was standing outside next to the house near Saleh's. Here, an old man of about ninety died last night and he is to be buried today. I was told that although these grave stones are low (orang hamba) [literally "slaves"], nobles have high ones.

472 Then we went to Liyu's other factory which is a com-
339 bination of brick and tile manufacturing. I took a photograph there. He is a rather remarkable person. Together his factories use eighty men.

326 Then we went to see the blacksmith shop. The smith is
463 an old man and they say that formerly he had a double
178 piston bellows, of the old style, such as is now found in the Buginese country. Now, however, he uses a Makassar-
●782 made single cylinder, double-action bellows, which is very
412 effective. I asked Saleh if the smith employs special prayers, etc. He said that maybe the old man did, but that the young ones do not. He also said that usually here at least one son follows his father's trade. However, many young smiths now go to work in Makassar rather than work in the shop found in their own kampong.

Then we went to another smith's not far off. This belonged to the son of the old man. We saw a parang [large knife] and a right angle scythe in rough form. The bellows really worked. Then we went to the carpenter shop. Here
[322] everything is made, including wheels. The carpenter is a student of the old bearded fellow.

164 Finally we went back to the house stopping first at the
743 leper asylum of Makassar which is in the kampong. (See map)
758 [Lost] The leper asylum is run by a stocky, tough, Swiss Salvation Army nurse. The government built the asylum and supports it. It is very clean and impressive. Unless the lepers are in very bad shape, they live in bungalows. These dwelling places are much better than native houses. There are many children. The Swiss nurse said that the children especially get leprosy, and that when children are born in the colony they are taken from the parents who

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. 000
They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Be- 842
tween the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there 304
is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked 881
about the story which states that if no children are forthcom- 574
ing a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It 411
looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pang-kadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as langa, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some [501]
used only for fishing, others only for trade.

They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. 423
For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own 563
trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the 423
separate property and my terms are all right. They also 428
agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided 562
by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system 177
was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with 178
the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Nevertheless, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited by boys and girls.

I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently 178
heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred 701
years ago.

They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaukang 782
by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must 778
be killed for the gaukang every year.

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line, and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-committal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also said that they no longer have the custom of using money to get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest official on South Celebes, i. e., chancellor. Younger tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
563 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thou-
755 sands come from all over to visit these places. Every day the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic, mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

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the latter there are ten graves of former radjas who were also holy men. One was especially important. Over the door was a sign in Arabic telling about the dates and lives of the men there buried. The dates are from 1600 to 1700, the Golden Age, of course. Busses are loaded going to this place, and the area itself is thronged. The people buy oil cakes and bring real flowers and lay these on the graves. The graves are thick with flowers. Then the people make their request, for example, for a child to get over an illness. I saw at least two Chinese there and I was told that plenty of them come to make requests. I did not go to the Kale Goa place with the graves today as it was too late. I will go tomorrow morning. I had little time to go into religious matters, but these matters are very strongly held here. I will cover these notes later on.

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I took Saleh to meet Nunuhitu, the translator and typist.

Ternate and the Moluccas: I met the Sultan of Ternate in the club, where he stayed until 3 A. M. He touched no alcohol. He said that if he were in the United States he might drink, but not in Indonesia. He is a very little fellow, his clothes being too large for him, and is in the room next to me at the hotel. He is very keen and speaks English very well. He was in Australia during the war and spent quite a bit of time with the Americans. He even has a familiarity with American slang, for example, merry-go-round. A Dutchman said that he is 100 per cent Nederlander, and he spoke thus, but evidently not a stooge. He says he knows that he will have to yield to the folk here soon, but admits that other radjas are often not of the same disposition as he is. He has an intelligent progressive mind evidently, and although he works with the Dutch, he knows why. That is, he realizes that the Indonesians need their help. He is a member of the East Indonesia Senate. Evidently there are very few in this body, and they are the highest only. Thus the Tidore sultan is not in this body, but in the House of Representatives. The Sultan said that the siwa and lima were old Ternate and Tidore customs originally. Ternate, in the old days, was divided into nine negri or tribes, and everywhere rule among the people was divided into nine divisions. This is no longer true on the island, but he knows that it once was this way. He says that two of the original nine negri still exist. Tidore originally was divided into five negri and wherever the local adat was extended it was so organized. I asked him how he knew about this, and he said that his father had told him. His family has been in direct ruling line for 600 years and these old things are passed

000 down from father to son within the ruling family. He said that Ternate once ruled over most of the Moluccas and up into the Philippine Islands. Tidore ruled mainly over New Guinea. Batjan, the other sultanate, was small and less important. This Sultan is a remarkable man and I will talk further with him when I read over my notes on Halmahera.

764 346 177 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Sixth day: I had to leave at eleven in the morning to go to Bone. I went at once to the graves of the radjas nearby and at Kale Goa. I noted that all of the tombs of the hundred-year ago type ("beehive") had an urn on top. I also noted that the mosques around here and also the shrine buildings have urns on top. (Later, in Watumpone, I noted that a mosque had, instead of the urn, a stone decoration which looked like an urn) This urn business must be a survival of the old mortuary use (or could it be a mere imitation of the onion shape of Byzantine decoration, which an urn approximates?). I had seen the beehive tombs near the Shrine of the Pigrimage the day before, as well as the large cemetery of regular graves. A bit further on I saw another mosque, and near it many more beehive tombs. I went into several of them.

764 ● 782 778 Then I went on to Kale Goa, and on the plateau stand many older type tombs (see photographs), of rough stones, with low doors. And I also noted even older ones, near stone heap mounds. An old man said that the latter were from Hindu times, the former from the time of Datu ri Bandang, in the early seventeenth century, who was the introducer of Islam here. In one of them I saw people sitting crouched down. Several of them were from Pangkadjene, which is quite a distance away, and they had come to make requests. All this is amazing. Then, on a slight, rectangular, earth mound was the coronation stone of Goa. It is small and flat and low. It fell from heaven. Over it is a small gnarled tree which never grows nor diminishes. Nearby is a small fence around another larger and rounder stone which also fell from the sky. There is one beehive tomb here (photograph).

773 778 I then walked down a little valley to a small kampong, the old man telling me stories about Tumanurung [a legendary figure of unknown origin who married Karaëng Bayo. The couple became mythological founders of the Goa nobility--Analyst] and others the whole time. We reached a well which evidently also features in the cycle of the legend. Nevertheless, it is being used at the present time, and there was a woman there washing a white buffalo with water. I forgot to say that under the round stone is the dried-up well where Goa warriors used to wash for invulnerability before

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evidently a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and shook them saying that they did this. This proves shamanism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the singing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on today. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They didn't even know that their script was from India.

793 838 548 535 [791] 212 171

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

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Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mystic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real debates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

795 829

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. They said that women have two stones, and men only one! There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of great people with requests, as in Makassar.

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As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general impression is that the only change that has taken place has been the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

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/120 cont./

At the time when the people in this area still made their clothes out of foeja /beaten tree bark/, they fetched from this hill the stones from which were made the little hammers (ike) with which the tree bark was flattened. The headman under whose leadership the move had taken place bore the name of Samba-langi, "covering the sky." The village was strong because it was surrounded by three earthen walls. Samba-langi continued to be invoked for a long time by people from Wotoe who brought buffaloes to Lake Poso: "Samba-langi, give us health, and do not let the buffaloes die on the way."

Now the story goes that the son of Samba-langi, once when he was bathing in the Kalaena, saw maize leaves and other refuse floating in it. This convinced him that there must be people living upstream. He followed the river upstream and came to the country now known as Saloe-maoge. There he saw a bamboo container hanging on a sugar palm, in which palm wine was collected. The people of Lampenai drank some of the liquid and then placed salt and sugar at the foot of the tree as the price for the enjoyment. After that they returned home.

When Samba-langi learned of the vicissitudes of his son, he ordered him to go back to the land upstream and to try to contact the inhabitants of Saloe-maoge. After they had again placed salt and sugar at the foot of a tree, they hid in the bushes in order to see who came to get these delicacies. Before long there appeared a man who was totally naked and who fled immediately when the coastal inhabitants showed themselves. Nevertheless eventually they managed to establish contact with the man and his fellow tribesmen. Coastal and mountain inhabitants made friends with each other. When the question came up as to who was the younger (inferior) and who the older (superior), the mountain people said to the people from the coast: "Of course you are our superiors, and we shall show you honor, because you wear trousers and a jacket, while we wear only a loincloth."